1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

and his wife. Practically, there was a geographic distinction. Those who lived in the village with him and shared his economic interests bathed whenever he did, though they did not fast or segregate themselves. Anyone who might be visiting for the occasion did the same, but those at a distance felt "the power would not reach so far." For the children, the bath need not even be cold, for the Papago were very lenient in their ceremonial requirements for "those not old enough to understand." However, all must observe a quiet demeanor, talk in low tones, and go out of the house as little as possible.

The one exception to these rules was the warrior's wife. Whether she were in the village or not, her tie with her husband was considered so close that she needed the same purification as he did. Her ordeal, however, was merely for cleansing, not for power, and the extremest rigors were spared her. She was segregated in her hut; she fasted from meat, grease, and salt; she did not look at the sun or make her own fire, but she need not thirst, starve, or suffer cold. Also, she did not receive instruction, nor was she expected to dream. Her husband's dreams furnished the power for all.

The weapons, having touched the enemy, shared the warrior's contamination and were kept beside him during the whole of his seclusion, to be purified when he himself was purified. His scalp or trophy, which had hung on the pole, was removed by his guardian, or some other enemy slayer who dared to touch it, and specially prepared for use as a fetish. It might merely be decorated with beads, or it might be made into the effigy of an Apache, dressed in buckskin, with feather headdress. A woman skilled in making the old-time plaited baskets prepared one of the proper size to receive it. On the day before the victory dance, according to some(9), a man had been sent to the dance ground to note the exact place where the rays of the rising sun struck. In this spot, next morning, the trophy would be placed. On this day the enemy slayer neither ate nor drank, so that there would be no physical cause for him to leave the dance ground the following night.

This was the night of the victory dance, called *wùrita* (the tying up), referring to the tying of the scalp basket. That evening,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

child was able to walk, it was carried on the mother's hip. When the mother went foot gathering, children of an active age were left at home with the grandmother.

Children went naked until the age of eight or ten. After this, the boys wore breechclouts and the girls a double apron, like their elders. Until this age, which was also that of taking up a few adult duties, both sexes played together making dolls of twigs tied together with corn husk.

"We went to a sunny place and played husbands and wives with our dolls. We girls would make our dolls grind corn. The boys would take their dolls and say, 'We go hunting.' 'Well, go,' said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. 'Here is a deer for you.' Once we played a doll was dead and we were crying, but my mother stopped us. 'You mustn't talk about the dead.'"

Children hunted about the camp, generally roasting the small animals they killed on the spot. Boys might dig rats out of their holes. After the rains all children chased the birds while their feathers were too wet to fly and caught them in their hands.

Girls played "jackstones", (p. 147) and practised double ball but did not gamble until they were older. Boys practised kickball and shooting at a mark. Both girls and boys practised daily on the race track, while the adult relatives arranged children's races, umpired them and bet on them.

During this early period before the age of ten or so a good deal of consideration was shown children. Girls were not allowed to pick cactus; "they are too young, thorns would hurt them". They need not go through the privations which their parents endured during a purification. "Children cannot suffer." The whole family showed them a great deal of affection. If a small child in a Papago house is not actively playing, it is generally in the arms of someone, male or female. The children run freely among their elders without rebuke. The writer has seen a child interfere constantly with the work of a potter without receiving more than a smile.

When taking texts, the writer was seriously inconvenienced by two boys romping through the small room and drowning out the informant's low voice. She asked the interpreter if it would be possible to stop the boys and he replied, "I don't think so. They are his (the informant's) grandchildren." Therefore, the text taking stopped occasionally, while the grandfather smilingly waited for the noise to lessen (4).

Children habitually run among the dancers in a ceremony and talk and shout during the singing. One informant, telling of an

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

855 important rite to stop an epidemic, mentioned how a group of children followed the shaman and clutched at his paraphernalia. "We don't mind those things. We know the children don't understand." At the dance around the enemy trophy where, if ever, fierceness is to be expected, several of the songs are concerned with Elder Brother's directions to mothers for lulling the babies who are tired with the dancing.

At present, when there is no hiding from the enemy, there is little in Papago daily life which demands the subduing of children. Nothing in the hut is breakable. There are two or three pots in the outdoor kitchen and some tools hanging from the roof out of reach. Otherwise, the child may feel quite as free in his surroundings as the adult. Since noise from the child does not shame the adult in public, as it would in our culture, there is little occasion for rebuke.

857 Children made a very matter-of-course entry into adult duties.
868 There was so much to do that as soon as a child was able to do anything whatever, he was allowed to do it. The writer saw an interesting example of training in this respect. A family and its guests were gathered in a hut on a cold night and the door was open. The person nearest the door and unoccupied was a three year old child. One of the men guests, a very distant relative, said to the child, "Close the door." The door was heavy and the sill high. The child made an attempt and then stopped. The man repeated smiling, "Close the door." The child moved it a few inches and started to cry. No one sympathized with him. The quiet direction, "Close the door," continued until he had moved it a few inches at a time and finally finished the task. There was no clamor of approval and petting. The child had done his part of the evening's work and came back to the fire with the rest.

Children were graduated from this sort of task to that of running errands and especially carrying gifts of food, often for long distances. As soon as they could manage the distance, girls followed their mothers on food gathering expeditions and boys followed their fathers hunting. When a girl was ten years old, she might be grinding all the corn for the family and a boy might be shooting the jackrabbits for their food. At fourteen a girl should be a fully qualified housekeeper, since she was nearly ready for marriage. A boy should be a swift runner and attending the council whence he might be sent out as messenger, though not on important occasions. He would be only beginning his training as a warrior and a hunter. Though he married later than the girl, this training might continue some time after marriage.

600 In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected,

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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images of the beautiful things that make life good for the Desert People, like clouds and corn and squash and deer. The men sang about those things and my father made songs. When I was about eight years old, my father once made an image of a mountain out of cactus ribs covered with white cloth. He had dreamed about that mountain and this is the song he made:

There is a white shell mountain in the ocean
Rising half out of the water.
Green scum floats on the water
And the mountain turns around.

The song is very short because we understand so much. We can understand how tall and white the mountain was, and that white shell is something precious, such as the handsome men of old used to have for their necklaces, and it would shine all across the earth as they walked. We understand that as that mountain turns, it draws the clouds and the birds until they all float around it. All those things my father told me when he used to sing that song in our house. I did not understand, though, when I was a little girl and went to the harvest festival. I was afraid of the singers with their masks. There were clowns with masks, too, white masks with little holes for eyes. The clowns bless people, and one put his hand out to bless me, but I ducked under it and ran.

Only afterward I used to dream of the white clown. Perhaps it was because some day I was going to marry one. It may be, for I have magic dreams. I am one who understands things.

When we came home that year there was sickness at Mesquite Root. It was a bad sickness that came to everybody in the whole village, sent by an evil medicine man. We all had it: my father, my mother, all my brothers and sisters. The singers gathered in the big house and sang. You understand now that our way to cure everything and to take care of everything, is to sing.

Then the medicine men took branches of a kind of cholla cactus. Oh, very thorny that cactus is, covered with white thorns, and people say they jump out at you and catch you, so hard they stick. Everything in the world sticks to that cactus, so we say the sickness will stick to it, too. The medicine men went with their branches into every house, gathering up the sickness on those thorns. I remember, because I was not so sick as the others, how little boys came after them, making fun of them and waving greasewood branches. But we do not mind those things. We know the children do not understand. They took the sickness away and buried it at the north of the village.

My little brother sang a great deal in the house after those things hap-

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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he made a noise like an owl: hm. The fifth time, he took up the bowl of clay and stirred it around with a little owl feather that was standing in the center of it. Then he put the clay to my mouth. "Drink this up!" So I drank it all.

Then he marked me, the sacred marks that are put on the men who have got salt from the magic ocean; the marks that take away bad luck and bring you a good life. On my breast, on my shoulders, my back, and my belly.

"Your name shall be cha-veela." I did not know before what name he was going to give me; neither did my parents. The medicine man names one from his dreams. Some of my friends had names that could be understood like Leaf Buds, Rustling Leaves, Windy Rainbow, Dawn Murmur. But I have never understood my name and he did not tell me.

After all that work, I did not menstruate again for a year!

VI

My father said to me: "Look, my girl. We are going to marry you, over at that house."

He did not say the boy's name out of modesty, just motioned with his lips eastward down the valley. The place he meant was Where the Water Whirls Around, where I went with my clay jars every time our pond went dry. I knew every house there and the people in them. I knew who the marriageable young man was. It was the medicine man's son. I had never spoken to him; I had never spoken to any young men except relatives and of course we do not marry relatives. But my breasts were getting large, now. That is how we know when a girl should marry. "They ought to be used for something," we say.

So my father and mother had been consulting. It must have been when I was asleep at night for I had not heard them. They had decided on a man to ask and then my father had sent my mother to tell my aunts and uncles about it. They all approved. They had not told the boy yet. That is done last of all. But of course no man would refuse, even if he already had a first wife. It would not be polite.

My father went on talking to me in a low voice. That is how our people always talk to their children, so low and quiet the child thinks he is dreaming it. But he never forgets.

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Presbyterians preach against divorce but place no absolute ban upon it, as does the Roman Catholic church. For a Catholic, remarriage following divorce involves the risk of denial of communion or even excommunication. This is a serious deterrent to good Catholics, who are fairly numerous in the eastern districts.

CHILDREN IN THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Marriage without children is almost incomprehensible to the Papago. They invariably say, "Every girl wants to get married and have children." Contraceptive measures are so rare as to be almost unheard of, and the occasional woman who says she does not want children is severely criticized. Yet there are no strong sanctions against abortion. The Papago strongly disapprove, but they are not shocked into action, and there are no penalties except criticism; they feel that no one else can rightfully interfere with what is really the concern of a woman and her family. On the other hand, if a man and wife have no children for some time, there is speculation by others, and the couple may visit a medicine man to determine the cause.

If Papago are asked why they welcome children, they are likely to say, "They help us with the work. They take care of us when we are old." Neither of these reasons should be underestimated. Many hands make somewhat lighter the arduous work of wringing a living from the desert, and an assured source of help in old age is especially important in a society where savings accounts and insurance are virtually nonexistent, if not impossible, because cash incomes are too low. Then, too, children are welcomed by their parents because they bring improved social status.

Undoubtedly bound up with all these factors, but potent in itself, is the sheer affection that the Papago have for their children. Open display of love is exceedingly rare between adults, but they fondle and make much of a child. Parents do not like to be separated from their children, and the usually reserved Papago man will allow himself to express such joy and affection at being reunited with his children as he would never show for his wife in public. Not only parents but all relatives pet little children. When small, children are treated as very dear and irresponsible beings; they are seldom struck or otherwise punished. But "when they know better," they are treated as individuals with growing responsibilities. They must learn to act in accordance with Papago ideals, to be obedient at all times, not to "talk back" to their elders, and to be unobtrusive when the elders are busy. But at no time are they set apart in a separate world; the activities of adults are open to them when they are ready and able to participate.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

854 relative. There is no consistent pattern for this, and he does not necessarily
866 sleep with the same person every night. Only in rare instances are the two sexes separated for sleeping until children are nine or ten years old.

869 In addition to learning motor skills and being weaned, which are common to children everywhere, the young Papago child is taught another important lesson; he must not play with or handle wild animals. Since the Papago believe that nearly all animals can cause disease and that some are especially dangerous to children (see chap. vi), as soon as a child begins to walk around the yard he must learn to keep away from wild animals. He is warned away from a gopher mound and is not allowed to handle rabbits shot for food. These warnings are immediately effective and have a powerful influence on the child. He is imbued with a great and lasting fear of animals and of the sickness they bring (see chap. xiv).

PATTERNS OF CHILD-TRAINING

861 General patterns of child-training among the Papago are based on the belief
855 that a little child should be happy and therefore he should be humored as often as possible. His development should suit his own pace, and he should not be forced or even strongly urged to follow the wishes of older persons.

The attitude of adults toward little children is permissive, and they are not rebuked for interfering with the work or conversation of their elders.[6]

Children are allowed to play with almost anything they please except animals. Teaching care of property is not a problem, for there are few things in the Papago home which the child can damage. Anything which the baby should not handle is put out of sight. If he does cry for some forbidden object, his mother will try to interest him in a substitute; if he wants a china dish, he is given an unbreakable pan. Should he persist in crying for the dish, the mother will express her displeasure verbally, "Oh, Juan, don't cry! Why do you do that?" and at the same time renew her efforts to distract his attention. If all efforts fail, she will give him the desired object and watch him carefully as he plays with it. When one mother was showing the writer a valued clay figurine used in treating illness, her two-year-old son howled for it. Finally, she gave it to him, but she held him on her lap, keeping her hands on or near the doll, and directing his attention elsewhere as soon as possible. A valued object in the home of a relative or friend would be treated in the same way.

861 In situations where the child must be denied, efforts are made to keep him

6. Underhill (*op. cit.*, p. 159) tells of an occasion when she was taking texts and was seriously inconvenienced by two children who romped through the room and drowned out the informant's words. When she asked the interpreter if the children could not be told to keep quiet, he replied, "I don't think so. They are his grandchildren."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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857 another much of the evening. At other times they sit on the benches, watching
527 all that goes on and chatting merrily with their friends. When they grow tired, they join some of their female relatives in the church for a nap.

MODESTY AND SEX TRAINING

864 As indicated earlier, Papago boys and girls of five to ten usually work and play separately. But brothers and sisters or males and females of this age do not avoid one another. When siblings of opposite sex occasionally join forces, they play freely, even to wrestling together for the possession of some desired object. Brothers, sisters, and cousins may roam from one house to another in mixed groups, but couples are not seen alone, even though they are siblings.

Children of five to ten have already developed great modesty about their bodies. A person secludes himself in a room of the house to bathe, and no one enters until he is reclothed. Papago undress only partially for sleeping, so that brothers and sisters sleeping together or in the same room do not expose the genitals. Children scatter behind separate bushes to urinate. Little girls at play are careful to keep their skirts down and pull their dresses well around their legs when they sit on the ground, lest they be teased for immodesty. (Surprisingly enough, when they are scuffling with their brothers, they seem unmindful of their skirts.) Boys playing together are not so shy of exposing themselves and will swim nude in the *charco* or horse tank.

There is no indication that children of this age group are introspective about sex. Sexual intercourse as a part of adult life can scarcely be unknown to them in view of Papago sleeping arrangements, and they all understand the function of pregnancy. Whether adults try to impart sex knowledge to children or they merely pick it up from what they see or hear is not known. Quite probably the latter is the case, since Papago children are trained not to ask questions and verbal explanation (except by way of lectures on virtue) is not a Papago teaching method. There is opportunity for children to acquire sex knowledge
[831] casually, for jokes and allusions to reproductive processes are rife in everyday conversation. Nor is sex spoken of only among adults; female relatives, for example, sometimes tease fat little girls by saying that they are pregnant.

THE CHILD IN HIS HOME

●855 The Papago child of five to ten is usually happy in his home relations. In this period the mother shares with the grandmother the dominant position in the lives of her children. The mother assigns to each child his household tasks and does much of the persuading, arguing, or scolding that is necessary. But she is also responsible for the child's happiness, and he can expect indul-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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855

gence from her, even at considerable inconvenience to herself. For example, one mother who moved to the Salt River Valley cotton fields for the winter took her son out of school because he wanted to go along, though she preferred that he remain at home.

Little girls have an especially close companionship with their mothers. Together mother and daughters do the housework, discuss the local gossip, and amuse themselves with magazines and pictures in moments of leisure. During the summer, when most women and girls take afternoon naps, each little girl lies down beside her mother.

The father, on the other hand, has no such intimate relationship with his children of five to ten. He no longer fondles them, for they have now grown too old for such demonstration to be proper. Training is largely in the hands of the mother and grandmother, although, if the father is present when adult intervention is needed, he does not hesitate to step in. If the grandparents are feeble, the father may do more teaching and disciplining. Some men, particularly those in the eastern districts who were trained in boarding schools are greatly concerned that their children should "amount to something," and they exert much control over their offspring, particularly the boys, even though grandparents are present. They lecture their children on proper behavior, see that they learn to work, sometimes spank them, and in general devote considerable effort to seeing that the youngsters do as they should. Some children are afraid of their fathers when they are drunk; several boys and girls told the writer that they did not like to go to ceremonials and fiestas because their fathers grew violent. On the whole, however, children have a friendly respect for their fathers and obey their infrequent orders with alacrity.

Grandmother is much more important to the average child; she takes on much of the rearing of children of this age, directing their activities, as she does those of the adult women of her household, and overseeing the girls' first attempts at housework. If youngsters misbehave, it is she, rather than the mother, who is likely to lecture them about what a good Papago should and should not do.

But grandmother is not merely a disciplinarian and head of the female household. Her affection and pride in her grandchildren are real and powerful. Because she is relieved of the more strenuous housework, she has more time than the mother to devote to the children's troubles. Her decisions are not hasty, and she tries to see that all the children are ultimately satisfied, hence they are likely to appeal directly to her for help.

From grandmother children often learn what they know of Papago tradi-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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855 tion and folklore. Particularly in the summer when the family takes the children to the cactus camp, grandmother is in great demand as a storyteller and a singer. She shows them the little footprints of I'itoi and the tiny caves where he lived long ago. She tells them how to pick the fruit of the cactus and leave the rinds on the ground with the red linings exposed, so that rain will come.

Grandfather is also an important figure in the child's world. As the head of the household he has final jurisdiction over everyone in it. He is not concerned with child-rearing as he was in the old days and, if he is still active, is away from the house a good deal of the time; but he sometimes plays with his grandchildren and is affectionate in his attitude toward them. From him, too, the children hear stories and songs of the old life on the desert, and they listen with respect to his lectures on good conduct, which are often given for their special benefit.

With the other adults in the household, the child's relationships are probably rather casual. Aunts and adult cousins may supervise him when mother or grandmother are otherwise occupied, and, though uncles are affectionate and will settle disputes if need be, little girls have almost no close contact with them, and little boys only when they are playing around the fields or corrals. Sometimes there is a close bond between a young unmarried woman in the household and the children of five to ten, especially little girls. Through her the younger children can almost enter the adult world. She is a sort of playmate who meets them without condescension on a somewhat grown-up level. Little girls will spend as much time as they can with her, hang on her arm affectionately as she walks about the village, sleep with her at night, and help her during the day. Boys, however, usually feel no such bond with a young unmarried man of the household, probably because they are as yet unable to share the tasks and interests that keep him away from the house so much of the time.

Relationships of the child of five to ten with his brothers, sisters, and cousins vary considerably according to the age of the other children. Older sisters and brothers seldom join the younger ones in play and are concerned with the youngsters' activities only when they are put in direct supervision over them. When older girls are left in complete charge, the younger children realize that they have the authority of adults and seldom take advantage of the situation. Older brothers have little to do with their small sisters ond only infrequently join in the activities of their little brothers. The younger children often look up to the older ones and imitate their more adult ways or personal mannerisms.

Though boys of five to ten seldom have to take care of younger children, in

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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households where there are no adult females or older sister, a girl of this age may have considerable responsibility for a younger brother or sister. Even a very small girl is extremely proud of this assignment, for she is thereby first placed in a position of authority. She spends much time looking after him at home and must carry him on her hip when she plays away from the house, but the little girl seldom resents the comparative restriction of her movements or the fact that, if she does not indulge the baby, his howls will bring his mother's interference and rebuke. Resentment toward the mother is forestalled by the young girl's claim to indulgence from an older child and by right of appeal to her mother if it is not granted.

It is clear that under this system no one child can be the object of favoritism throughout life.[3] And, yet, identical behavior toward each child at a given time is likewise impossible, since the treatment of an individual is always relative to his age position. No question of unfairness or favoritism is raised either by parents or by children.

GOING TO SCHOOL

We have seen that the Papago child is at liberty to make many decisions for himself which, in white society, ordinarily are in the province of parents. One of these decisions is whether he will go to school or not.[4] In reaching a conclusion, he probably has certain conflicts to resolve: he is likely to be shy of white people, an attitude which may be reinforced by distrust if his family belongs to a conservative group; on the other hand, older children tell him that going to school is fun because it gives opportunity for knowing children from other villages and for being away from one's own home and the work to be done there; further, they say, white people are novel and interesting creatures, even if a little fearful. The child usually makes up his mind without pressure from his family. In the eastern districts most young children now expect to go to school, and their parents encourage them to do so, and in the West an increasing number of small children are enrolled.

Even after he has decided to go, the child is often under no pressure from his family to attend regularly (see chap. vii). If he goes to school in another village, he travels by bus, the driver of which acts as truant officer. Many drivers coax the children to attend every day and conscientiously report reasons for absence, but they never threaten or command a child.

3. The few cases of deliberate favoritism which appear are apparently due to special circumstances. The writer observed only two. In both cases the favored child was an only son and the youngest child. Both mothers had previously lost sons, and their devotion seemed to be centered in the surviving one.

4. The field work on which this study is based was done before the tribal council made school attendance compulsory (see chap. vii).

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and be- [422] long to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated [855] kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young [534] man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-

124 596 594 (178) The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning doveloped that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

27 464 602 574 Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

464 56 27 602 (855) Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

596 464 27 About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).
[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%
[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.
[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

9: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

857
855
857
291

Children played under mother's watchful eye . . . in the forest of cotton stalks . . .

or alone at the edge of the field . . .

857
609
857
291
142

with Anglo, Mexican-American (and Negro) children . . .

or alone in the camp.